

THE MILITANT

INSIDE
Fidel Castro on the lessons of
Cuban Revolution for Colombia
— PAGE 7

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE VOL. 80/NO. 35 SEPTEMBER 19, 2016

What is stake for workers in rulers' debate on trade pact?

BY SETH GALINSKY

The debate in ruling-class circles and between Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump, candidates of the two big capitalist parties for U.S. president, over the Trans-Pacific Partnership trade pact is over how best to ad-

COMMENTARY

vance the interests of Wall Street and the boss class against their competitors abroad.

Today there is a slow-burning worldwide capitalist economic depression for which the rulers have no solution, other than more attacks on workers here and abroad. They're driven to ratchet up competition against their capitalist rivals for markets and financial penetration. And the strongest national capitals — in today's world that has been U.S. imperialism — benefit the most.

Their public claim is they are for
Continued on page 9

'The Socialist Workers Party is the working class's party'

BY EDWIN FRUIT

EVERETT, Wash. — "The Socialist Workers Party is the working-class alternative to the Democrats and Republicans, the two capitalist parties that have no solution to the worldwide crisis of capitalism hammering the working class," Alyson Kennedy, SWP candidate for U.S. president, told Norma Jean Foster, a retired school custodian and member of the Operating Engineers union, who she met campaigning door to door here Aug. 29. Everett is home to thousands of Boeing aircraft and other workers.

"Our conditions of life and work are worsening as the bosses try to make workers all over the world pay for their crisis," Kennedy said. "The Socialist Workers Party is the only party standing up for the working class and explaining that we have to organize a movement capable of making a revolutionary change in this country to put the working class in power."

Foster told Kennedy she was lean-
Continued on page 3

Washington backs Ankara against the Kurds in Syria

Obama tells Turkish president 'finish the job'



ARA News

Turkish police tear gassed Sept. 2 demonstration in Kobani, Syria, against Ankara building wall between Kurdish regions of Syria and Turkey. At least two protesters were killed, 97 injured.

BY NAOMI CRAINE

"Finish the job," President Barack Obama told Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan Sept. 4, during a joint press conference held during the G20 summit in China, backing Ankara's expanding military offensive in northern Syria.

Erdogan made clear his government intends to step up its attacks against Kurds fighting for their national rights. "Our fight against Dae-

sh," he said, using a derogatory term for Islamic State, "and other terrorist organizations — PYD [Kurdish Democratic Union Party], YPG [Kurdish People's Protection Units] ... will continue as committed as they have ever been."

From the beginning of what Ankara calls "Operation Euphrates Shield," Erdogan has made it clear the goal is to push back Kurdish forces in Syria
Continued on page 4

Kaepernick's protest against police brutality gains support



AP/Chris Carlson

San Francisco 49ers quarterback Colin Kaepernick, middle, knelt during U.S. national anthem before game Sept. 1 to protest police killings and racism, spurring debate across the country.

BY BETSEY STONE

TURLOCK, Calif. — Colin Kaepernick, the San Francisco 49ers quarterback who would not stand during the singing of the U.S. national anthem at recent games in protest against cop killings and the oppression of Black people, grew up in this town of 68,000 in the agricultural Central Valley.

"I am not going to stand up to show pride in a flag for a country that op-

presses Black people and people of color," he told the press. "There are bodies in the street and people getting paid leave and getting away with murder."

A star player for the 49ers, leading them to the Super Bowl in 2013, Kaepernick has been a town hero. Now articles in the capitalist media like the *San Francisco Chronicle* are claiming the people of Turlock have
Continued on page 5

IRS attack on Pastors for Peace is aimed at solidarity with Cuba

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

"This is a smokescreen to come after us for our political work," Gail Walker, executive director of IFCO/Pastors for Peace, told the *Militant*

Sept 2. "The attack on IFCO is an attack on social justice projects overall."

At the end of August the IRS rejected an appeal by the Interreligious Foundation for Community Organization of the federal tax agency's decision to revoke the group's tax-exempt status. The revocation could take effect "within the next few weeks," Walker wrote to supporters and friends Sept. 1, appealing for
Continued on page 9

Agreement to end Colombia-FARC war opens door for class struggle

BY MAGGIE TROWE

The government of Colombia and the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) guerrilla group announced Aug. 24 that after nearly four years of talks they have reached a "definitive agreement," ending more than 50 years of hostilities, the longest armed conflict in the history of Latin America.

Cuba's revolutionary government was instrumental in facilitating the negotiations, hosted in Havana, with Cuba and Norway as "guarantor" countries and Chile and Venezuela "accompanying" countries. Cuban
Continued on page 6

Inside

SWP: Solidarity with Kaepernick's protest!	9
Free Leonard Peltier!	2
Kurds' long struggle for independence, sovereignty	4
Minnesota nurses on strike to defend health care, union	5
UN caused cholera epidemic in Haiti; Cuban doctors fought it	6

Free Leonard Peltier! Framed for defending Native American rights

BY ARLENE RUBINSTEIN

Supporters of Leonard Peltier — jailed for more than 40 years, including six in solitary confinement, for his participation in the fight for Native American rights — are stepping up efforts to demand President Barack Obama grant him clemency.

Peltier, 71 and in poor health, was convicted in 1977 and given two consecutive life sentences on frame-up charges that he killed two FBI agents.

In July the International Leonard Peltier Defense Committee organized a motorcycle ride from Portland, Oregon, to Washington, D.C. A trailer with Peltier’s prison paintings, his picture and signs demanding his freedom, along with a five-car convoy, attracted attention along the trip.

“We drove 300 miles a day. It’s difficult for workers to get time off to join in, but along the way, people were asking, ‘Who is Leonard Peltier,’” Chauncey Peltier, Leonard’s son, told the *Militant*. He is a former construction worker and a member of Laborers Local 296 in Portland and a board member of the defense committee.

On Sept. 17 the defense committee is organizing marches for clemency in Los Angeles; Houston; Olympia, Washington; and Lancaster, Pennsylvania, and has called for further actions on Columbus Day, Oct. 10.

Impacted by the fight for Black rights and the movement against the war in Vietnam, the American Indian Movement organized actions across the country in the late 1960s and ’70s protesting oppressive conditions imposed

on Native Americans — from inadequate health care, denial of fishing rights and exploitation of Indian lands by mining companies to violations of repressive treaties by the U.S. government.

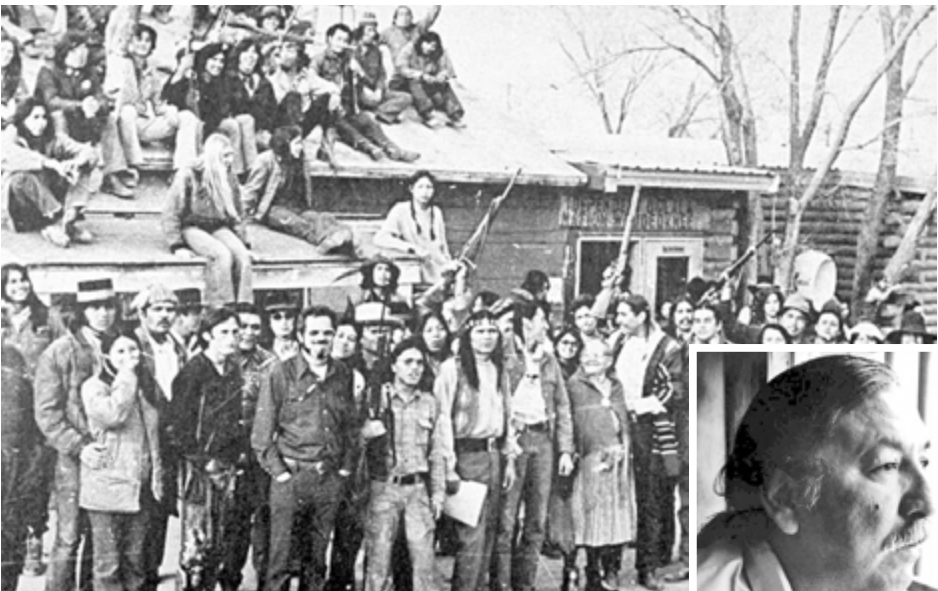
Washington and the FBI declared war on the movement, launching COINTELPRO (Counterintelligence Program) against AIM and its leadership.

In one of their most famous protest actions, some 300 AIM activists occupied Wounded Knee, South Dakota, on the Pine Ridge Sioux Reservation Feb. 27, 1973, and held it for 71 days to dramatize conditions on the reservations. They were surrounded by federal agents and fired on nightly. More than 100 participants were arrested.

Two of the main leaders, Dennis Banks and Russell Means, were special targets of the government. Their trial lasted almost nine months, but the judge dismissed all charges against them.

After Wounded Knee, Pine Ridge Tribal Chairperson Dick Wilson saw the radicalizing youth as a threat to his power. He organized his own force, appropriately called GOON (Guardians of the Oglala Nation). More than 60 AIM members, supporters and family members were killed by the thugs between April 1973 and July 1976.

Looking to defend themselves, residents of Pine Ridge asked Leonard Peltier to organize AIM volunteers to set up camp in Oglala. On June 26, 1975, FBI agents Jack Coler and Ronald Williams approached the camp, allegedly looking for a man accused of theft and assault. During an exchange of fire



FBI targeted American Indian Movement and its leaders for organizing actions like 1973 occupation of Wounded Knee on Pine Ridge reservation, above. Inset, Leonard Peltier in prison, framed up on charges of killing FBI agents in attack on AIM there two years later.

that ensued, they radioed for backup and soon more than 100 agents from the FBI, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, GOON and other police agencies had surrounded the site. Two FBI agents were shot and killed. Joseph Stuntz, a young Indian man, was killed by the cops during the confrontation.

Peltier and AIM activists Bob Robideau and Darrell Butler were arrested and charged with murder. They were acquitted on grounds of self-defense, but in a separate trial Peltier was found guilty.

No one was ever charged for the murder of Stuntz.

“Did Stuntz’s life not matter?” Peltier asked the *New York Daily News* during a recent interview. “That’s what we were always fighting to change — the idea that Indian lives weren’t worth anything.”

The FBI claimed it was Peltier who shot the two FBI agents at close range, but there is no physical evidence linking Peltier to their deaths. A 1975 laboratory ballistic report, which was denied to Peltier at his trial, disproves the FBI’s charge. Government lawyers admitted that they don’t know who fired the shots.

Prosecutors withheld evidence from the defense at the trial that could have led to Peltier being found not guilty.

The government has never ceased to campaign against freeing Peltier. In 2000, some 500 FBI agents marched in Washington, D.C., to oppose the pos-

sibility of clemency by President Bill Clinton. Both Clinton and George W. Bush denied Peltier’s request.

His defense committee asks people to write to President Barack Obama, The White House, 1600 Pennsylvania Ave., Washington, D.C. 20500, and urge him to grant clemency. For information on upcoming actions visit: www.whoisleonardpeltier.info.

Write to him at Leonard Peltier, #89637-132, USP Coleman I, P.O. Box 1033, Coleman, FL 33521.

‘Militant’ audio edition is online

The *Militant* has launched an online audio edition of the socialist newsweekly. Prepared by volunteers, feature articles and editorials are now available at www.themilitant.com. They can be listened to or downloaded in MP3 format. Over time each weekly issue will be available in audio format.

This will make the *Militant* accessible to the blind or visually impaired; those who can understand spoken English but aren’t comfortable with the written language; or anyone who might prefer listening to the articles.

Audio links are available starting with the Sept. 5 issue, no. 33.
— PETE KENNEDY

THE MILITANT

Join campaign to free Oscar López!

The international fight to free Oscar López, Puerto Rican independence fighter, is expanding. Framed up on seditious conspiracy charges by the U.S. government, López has spent 35 years in prison. Join in building rally and concert in Washington, D.C., Oct. 9 to demand his release.



Oscar López speaks at Juneteenth celebration at prison in Terre Haute, Indiana.

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‘SWP is workers’ party’

Continued from front page

ing to Hillary Clinton, “because I’m afraid Trump will get us stuck in foreign wars.”

“Both Trump and Clinton will continue U.S. wars abroad, representing the interests of the ruling class,” Kennedy replied. “Clinton has a long record as secretary of state acting to keep Washington’s power and domination abroad in place.”

A friend of Foster’s, a Boeing worker who was visiting, asked Kennedy, “Did you know that Donald Trump is speaking here tomorrow night?”

“Yes, that’s one of the reasons I wanted to come here. I think a lot of working people go to hear what he has to say because they see him as being an outsider, not a professional politician,” Kennedy said. “But he has no solutions for the working class either, and his demagogic attacks against immigrants and scapegoating Muslim people divides us.” Foster decided to buy a subscription to the *Militant* and a copy of *Are They Rich Because They’re Smart? Class, Privilege and Learning Under Capitalism* by SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes.

Grace, a woman originally from East Africa, greeted Kennedy on the sidewalk near her home as she was returning from her job as a caregiver. “I never met a presidential candidate before. In my country politics are very corrupt and they buy and steal the elections,” she said.

“They steal the elections here too,” Kennedy said. “If the ruling class thinks one of the candidates will harm

their interests, they make sure their favored alternative is declared the winner.

“Workers all over the world face the effects of the growing contraction in capitalist trade and production and bear the brunt of their crisis. This is why my party starts with what is happening to the international working class.”

“I know that people in my country are oppressed and people in this country are oppressed too,” Grace told Kennedy as she signed up for a *Militant* subscription. “But I thought I was the only one who thought like this. Let’s keep in touch.”

Kennedy brought solidarity to a protest rally by Familias Unidas por la Justicia, an independent farmworkers union in Burlington, where some 300 union members struck Aug. 27 demanding a union contract with Sakuma Brothers Farms. The farmworkers, most of whom are indigenous workers from Mexico, have been fighting for \$15 an hour and union recognition for three years. A few days later the union announced Sakuma Farms bosses had agreed to hold a secret ballot election and begin negotiating a contract.

“Very few political candidates are willing to be on the ground with the people that the capitalist system affects most, especially in rural areas,” Josefina Mora, a student at Western Washington University who supports Familias Unidas, told Kennedy at the protest. “I’m excited to meet you.”

‘U.S. troops out of the Mideast’

“We are talking to workers about the devastating impact the world capitalist crisis is having on workers around the world and how only the working class itself can chart the way forward for humanity,” Kennedy told a campaign meeting at the Bethany United Church of Christ in Seattle Sept. 3. “We are spreading the word about the Socialist Workers Party, getting it known among workers and winning people to join us campaigning. Anger and unease is widespread among workers about deteriorating conditions we face. Workers want to discuss and debate the way forward.”

“My party believes working-class struggles will grow

as the depression continues to deepen, in much bigger ways than today,” she said. “As we gain confidence we will organize a mass working-class movement capable of taking political power out of the hands of the capitalist class and joining with workers worldwide to fight for a socialist world.

“Working people are concerned about the seemingly unending wars waged by the U.S. government, especially in the Mideast,” Kennedy said. “We demand Washington get the troops out now.

“We support the fight of Kurdish people for self-determination and against the attacks by the Turkish government backed by the U.S. military,” she said. “And we join in fights against attacks on Muslims and mosques here in the U.S.”

“We condemn attacks on the right to vote today aimed at disenfranchising

Protest condemns killing of Polish worker in UK



Militant/Anne Howie

HARLOW, England — Some 700 people gathered in The Stow shopping area here Sept. 3 to pay their respects to Arkadiusz “Arek” Jozwik, a 40-year-old Polish-born meat processing worker who died after being brutally beaten.

Jozwik and a friend were standing outside a pizza restaurant in The Stow Aug. 27 when a group of teenagers attacked, witnesses say, after hearing the men speaking Polish. Jozwik’s friend, who has not been named, was injured but survived.

After a vigil, protesters marched silently to St. Paul’s Church. The action was organized by Eric Hind, a friend of Jozwik, and other young Poles, as well as town chaplain Robert Findlay and the Heart 4 Harlow charity.

Members of the Communist League took part in the march.

“Since the attack there’s been a lot of media attention painting Harlow as some left-behind town, representative of everything that’s wrong with society,” Sam Watson, 22, a student and musician, told Communist League member Ögmundur Jónsson. “But we want to show today that there are good people here who stand in solidarity with the Polish community and with immigrants in general.”

“The Communist League joins in uniting working people to protest attacks like this, to resist the effects of the world crisis of capitalism and build a revolutionary movement,” said Jónsson, who is a union pharmaceutical worker in nearby Ware. “An injury to one is an injury to all.”

— ÓLÖF ANDRA PROPPÉ



Pat Scott, who works at Walmart in Seattle, made this Socialist Workers Party campaign button after meeting the party’s presidential candidate Alyson Kennedy. She wears it at work to win support for the party. Scott is donating it to the SWP’s national campaign committee, which will make more copies that you can order.

—MILITANT LABOR FORUMS—

CANADA

Calgary

Canada, U.S., Turkey, Syria — **Hands Off the Kurds!** Speaker: Michel Dugré, Communist League. Fri., Sept. 16, 7:30 p.m. Dragon City Mall, 328 Centre St. SE, Unit 246. Tel.: (403) 457-9044.

UNITED KINGDOM

Manchester

Hear Alyson Kennedy, Socialist Workers Party Candidate for U.S. President and Pete Clifford, Communist League Candidate for Greater Manchester Mayor. Sat., Sept. 17. Reception, 6:00 p.m.; program, 6:30 p.m. Donation: £2.50. Room 301, Hilton House, 26-28 Hilton St. M1 2EH. Tel.: (0161) 478-2496.

workers who are African-American. From North Carolina to Michigan, Kansas to Tennessee, where I campaigned recently, thousands of people are being purged from voter rolls,” she said. “We join in the fight to restore gains won in blood like the 1965 Voting Rights Act, which was dealt a blow by the Supreme Court’s 2013 decision that opened the door for state and local governments to carry out the attacks we see today.”

“People I know say they are voting for Clinton because she is a woman,” Peggy Lytle, a Walmart worker, told Kennedy over coffee after the meeting. “They don’t take into consideration her character and what she and her husband have done to ordinary people. I can’t stand Clinton or Trump, but now I know who I can vote for.

“I can’t handle these foreign wars,” she told Kennedy.

“They’ve been going on continuously for decades because the U.S. rulers’ attempts to use mili-

tary power to maintain control over the world’s resources and to exploit the world’s workers have run into difficulties, creating crises and catastrophe throughout the Mideast and beyond,” Kennedy said.

Are They Rich Because They’re Smart?

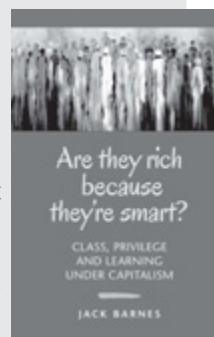
Class, Privilege and Learning Under Capitalism
by Jack Barnes

“In the coming battles forced upon us by the capitalist rulers workers will begin to transform ourselves and our attitudes toward life, work and each other. Only then will we learn what we’re capable of becoming.”

Special offer: \$7 for book, \$10 for book and ‘Militant’ subscription

See page 8 to contact the Socialist Workers Party or Communist League nearest you.

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Kurds’ long struggle for independence, sovereignty

BY EMMA JOHNSON

There will be “no separate [Kurdish] entity on the border,” Vice President Joe Biden declared in Turkey Aug. 24, ruling out any support from Washington for Kurdish autonomy in Syria. He was speaking alongside Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan, whose troops had just entered Syria — ostensibly to fight Islamic State, but with the open aim of blocking Kurdish territorial gains.

“As Kurdish allies fighting against terrorism ... we expected more from the United States,” Idriss Naasan, a former official in the Kurds’ government in the area known as Rojava in northern Syria, told the *Washington Post* a week later.

But Washington’s actions are consistent with how the U.S. rulers have for decades alternately doled out a bit of aid to Kurdish nationalist groups fighting for self-determination when it has furthered their imperialist aims, then abruptly cut off this backing, depending on shifting relations with regimes in the area.

Today the Kurdish people comprise the biggest nationality in the world without a homeland, numbering some 30 million people living in Iran, Iraq, Syria and Turkey. When the victorious powers of London and Paris carved up the Middle East following World War I, they denied Kurds a homeland.

These governments imposed laws to brutally suppress Kurdish culture and nationality. At various points this included banning publicly speaking, writing or conducting education in the Kurdish language. Kurdish uprisings took place across the region over decades. A high point was the establishment in 1946 of the Kurdish Republic of Mahabad in Iran near the Iraqi border. After a betrayal by the Stalinist government in Moscow, the Iranian monarchy, backed by Washington and London, moved in and crushed the republic after 10 months.

One example of how Washington has cynically tried to use the Kurdish struggle to further its imperialist aims came in the early 1970s. To weaken the rival regime in Baghdad, the shah of Iran in 1972 requested that Wash-

ington arm the Kurds in Iraq. During the coming months the CIA shipped some \$16 million worth of weapons to the Kurds.

When the shah reached a deal with the Iraqi regime three years later, Washington’s and Tehran’s support disappeared overnight, as Iraqi troops began a massive offensive against the Kurds. “One should not confuse undercover action with social work,” said Secretary of State Henry Kissinger later in 1975, responding to a question in a Senate committee about the decision to abandon the Kurds.

From 1990-91, U.S.-led forces carried out a bloody assault on Iraq, using the Saddam Hussein regime’s invasion of Kuwait as the pretext. The six weeks of incessant air- and sea-bombardment followed by a 100-hour invasion left hundreds of thousands dead and millions displaced.

In the aftermath, the Kurds in northern Iraq and oppressed Shiites in the south rose up against the weakened regime. Kurdish militias gained control over many towns and villages in March 1991. Washington and its allies stood aside and watched as Baghdad ruthlessly crushed both rebellions. More than 2 million Kurds tried to flee across the Turkish and Iranian borders.

The U.S. rulers then declared a temporary “enclave” for the refugees in northern Iraq near the Turkish border. Washington sent special forces into the area, functioning as little



Map shows Kurdish regions in Syria, Iran, Iraq and Turkey, as well as population estimates.

more than a police force for Saddam. Along with Turkish soldiers, U.S. troops forced refugees out of Turkey and off nearby mountains into barren transit camps.

Kurdish gains to self-rule in Iraq

Later an imperialist-imposed no-fly zone over northern Iraq gave the Kurds some breathing space. Over the ensuing years they were able to establish the beginnings of self-rule — an unintended consequence of Washington’s war that expanded after the second U.S. invasion of Iraq and overthrow of Saddam in 2003.

Today the Kurdish Regional Government in northern Iraq increasingly carries out its own foreign policy and trade, and has its own peshmerga military force with some 200,000 men and women under arms.

In recent years Washington has provided some light weapons and carried out airstrikes to back the peshmerga

in Iraq and the Kurdish People’s Protection Units (YPG) in Syria, both of which are the most effective forces combating the reactionary Islamic State. The U.S. rulers are counting on them to play a key role in projected battles in Raqqa, Syria, and Mosul, Iraq.

This puts Washington increasingly at odds with its NATO ally in Ankara. The Turkish capitalist rulers fear advances in the fight for an independent Kurdistan and the impetus that would have on the class struggle in Turkey, where some 20 percent of the population is Kurdish.

That’s why Biden read the imperial law to the Kurdish fighters in his Aug. 24 news conference with Erdogan. “They must move back across the [Euphrates] river,” the U.S. vice president said. “They cannot, will not, and under no circumstances will get American support if they do not keep that commitment. Period.”

Washington backs Ankara against Kurds in Syria

Continued from front page
and prevent them from making any advances in uniting the two Kurdish regions in Syria that border Turkey.

Turkish troops and tanks, backed by U.S. airstrikes and accompanied by Turkish-organized Free Syrian Army militias, entered Syria Aug. 24, rapidly taking towns and villages with little or no resistance from Islamic State. They immediately moved toward Manbij, recently liberated by YPG forces. Vice President Joe Biden backed Ankara’s offensive against the Kurds, telling the YPG to pull back to the east side of the Euphrates River.

By the end of the day Sept. 4, Turkish officials were reporting that they now control the entire 65-mile border between the towns of Jarablus and Azaz. This separates Kurdish areas around Afrin in the northwest from the rest of the Kurdish-controlled region in northeastern Syria.

Turkish troops also bombed the YPG near Afrin, the Kurdish ARA News service reported.

For decades the Kurds have fought national oppression and being divided within the borders of Syria, Iraq, Iran and Turkey.

Turkish Prime Minister Binali Yildirim announced Sept. 4 that Ankara will intensify its offensive against the Turkish Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) and anyone accused of links to it. The PKK first began an armed struggle in 1984 against the Turkish government, which responded with brutal repression against the Kurdish population. The Erdogan government ended a two-year cease-fire with the PKK in July 2015, right after reach-

ing an agreement with Washington to formally join the “coalition” against Islamic State and allow U.S. airstrikes in Syria from Turkey’s Incirlik base.

Erdogan views the emergence of an autonomous Kurdish region along its border with Syria as the biggest threat to the interests of Turkey’s capitalist rulers, because of the impetus it gives to Kurdish national aspirations within Turkey.

A battle looms for control of al-Bab, Syria, 20 miles south of the Turkish border, Rudaw reported Sept. 6. The city is currently controlled by Islamic State. The YPG-backed al-Bab Military Council has captured three villages nearby and is poised to attack. Turkish-backed forces are just to the north. “We try day and night to reach al-Bab quickly,” Yasir Ibrahim Yusuf, a commander of the Ankara-backed Turkmen Nuradin Zangi Brigades told the online paper.

These clashes pose challenges for Washington’s planned offensive against Islamic State’s remaining strongholds in Raqqa, Syria, and Mosul, Iraq. The U.S. rulers have counted on the YPG, whose forces have been the most effective combating IS, to carry out a lot of the fighting in Raqqa.

In Mosul, Washington expects the peshmerga forces of the Kurdish Regional Government in Iraq to play a big role in the coming offensive. The Turkish government has relations with the Iraqi Kurdish government, including on oil exports, and KRG President Masoud Barzani was in Ankara on a state visit when Turkish troops entered Syria.

Speaking in Brussels Sept. 1, Salih

Muslim, co-chair of the Syrian Kurdish PYD, accused the Iraqi Kurdish government of joining Ankara in imposing an embargo against the Kurdish region in Syria, known as Rojava.

The Turkish government has started building a wall on the border dividing Kurdish regions in Turkey from Rojava. Protests against the wall by thousands of Kurds near Kobani, Syria, were met by tear gas and live ammunition by Turkish police. At least two demonstrators were killed and 97 injured, ARA News reported Sept. 5.

In Germany, home to many Kurdish immigrants, some 25,000 people rallied in Cologne Sept. 3 protesting Ankara’s attacks on Kurds in both Turkey and Syria.

Meanwhile, fighting has intensified across Syria. Troops from the government of Bashar al-Assad, backed by Russian airstrikes and Iranian forces, reimposed a siege Sept. 4 on the eastern section of the city of Aleppo, held by opponents of Assad. Aleppo, which had been Syria’s industrial center, with over 2 million residents, was a center of the mass protests in 2011 against the dictatorial Assad regime that were brutally crushed, leading to the civil war.

Secretary of State John Kerry and Russian Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov have been meeting for months in an effort to reach a deal for a “meaningful, serious, verifiable cessation of hostilities in Syria,” with little success so far.

Obama sees a bloc with Moscow as essential to any hopes of reimposing stability and defending U.S. imperialist interests in the region.

Opening Guns of World War III: Washington’s Assault on Iraq

by Jack Barnes
In *New International* no. 7

“The Kurdish people have come to the center stage in world politics as never before, not primarily as victims, but as courageous and determined fighters for national rights.”
— Jack Barnes

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US Imperialism Has Lost the Cold War

by Jack Barnes
In *New International* no. 11

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Minnesota nurses on strike to defend health care, union

BY JACQUIE HENDERSON
AND ROSE ENGSTROM

ST. PAUL, Minn. — Cheers greeted nurses coming off the night shift at Allina Health’s United Hospital here Sept. 5, as they joined hundreds of fellow nurses on the picket line. It was the first day of a strike by 4,800 members of the Minnesota Nurses Association at Allina’s five facilities in the Twin Cities area.

The nurses have been negotiating since January and conducted a week-long strike in June. Allina demands that they give up their union health care plans and replace them with the company’s insurance at higher cost. The union says this strike will continue until an agreement is reached.

Allina has brought in 1,500 replacement workers who it says will maintain “normal operations.”

“This is about breaking the union,” Rose Roach, executive director of the Minnesota Nurses Association, told the *Militant* at the Minneapolis Abbott Northwestern Hospital picket line.

The nurses were in fighting spirit. “Having a union makes a difference,” said Kathy Westlie, who started at Abbott after years of working in a nursing home. “There they could tell you to work any amount of overtime. You had no say.”

In response to hearing about coal miners organizing a demonstration in Washington, D.C., Sept. 8 in defense of their health care and pensions, Westlie said, “I know. My husband is a Teamster fighting for his pension. The company wants to cut it in half.”

Other workers joined the picket lines, including members of American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, Teamsters, and teachers’ unions. A group of 10 nurses from Chicago were warmly received. Many cars passing by honked in support.

“This is important,” said James Nyonteh, a United Auto Workers member from Osseo, who walked the picket in Minneapolis. “Not just for the nurses, but because of what other

companies are trying to do and the example this is for us.”

Luis Hernandez was scheduled to deliver a truck full of linens to Abbott. He stopped, got out and joined the nurses marching around the hospital. “We don’t cross picket lines,” he said. “We have to stand together.”

Patients outside the hospital spoke up in favor of the striking nurses. “Nurses are very important people, you can’t just run over them,” said Fred Thompson, a patient enjoying the morning sun.

Kevin Dwire and Helen Meyers contributed to this article.



Militant/Jacquie Henderson

Nurses at Abbott Northwestern Hospital in Minneapolis on first day of strike Sept. 5. Delivery driver Luis Hernandez, right, joined them, saying “We don’t cross picket lines.”

Kaepernick protest against racism gains support

Continued from front page
turned against him.

Kaepernick is far from the first well-known athlete to protest racist injustice in the U.S., with its long history of slavery, Jim Crow segregation and racist criminal “justice” system.

“I cannot stand and sing the anthem. I cannot salute the flag,” Jackie Robinson, the Brooklyn Dodger star who broke the color barrier in professional baseball, said in his 1972 autobiography. “I know that I am a Black man in a white world.”

Socialist Workers Party members from Oakland drove here Sept. 4 to talk with working people by going door to door. At a McDonald’s in nearby Modesto, home health care worker Ashley Aostroski said she and many friends support what Kaepernick did.

In Turlock they found a mix of views. “I don’t like what he did and I don’t want to talk about it,” said one woman as she closed her door. “He’s a disgrace to this country,” said a seventh grader sitting on the steps to his house.

Others were supportive. “A lot of people in my church are against what he did,” said Maria Ikari, “but I know about cop brutality. I was unfairly handcuffed and arrested by Los Angeles police.”

“I’m glad to hear the Niners team is

coming together behind him,” she said, referring to the support Kaepernick has been getting from teammates. After a locker room meeting where the quarterback explained why he was refusing to stand, teammate Eric Reid joined Kaepernick in dropping to one knee during the anthem at a game in San Diego.

“The injustices that are happening could have happened to one of my family members,” Reid told reporters. He is from Baton Rouge, where cops recently shot and killed Alton Sterling.

“There is a difference between dividing and speaking on, pointing out issues,” Reid said, answering those who said Kaepernick’s protest would “distract” and “divide” the team. “Kaep is doing the [latter] in an effort to unite.”

Most people Socialist Workers Party members spoke with supported Kaepernick’s right to do what he did. And they were eager to discuss the problems working people face in this town hard hit by the capitalist economic crisis.

“When I moved from Los Angeles, I had a hard time finding any job,” Ikari said when she learned of the party’s call for a federally funded public works program to rebuild crumbling infrastructure and provide jobs for millions.

“A lot of people here join the military

because they can’t find other work,” said retired meatpacker Inez Lewis, who has two daughters in the military and contributes to a local homeless center where she often meets veterans. “The Veterans Administration is a disgrace. The politicians aren’t doing anything and will not do anything about this.”

“People here tend to be patriotic,” Lewis said. “Unfortunately, many are paying more attention to the anthem issue than to what he is saying.”

In fact, Francis Scott Key, who wrote “The Star Spangled Banner” in 1814, was a slave owner, a bitter opponent of abolition and called Blacks “a distinct and inferior race of people.”

Down the street, a professor at California State University-Stanislaus said when he raised Kaepernick’s stand with his students, a majority were in support.

A Sept. 2 article by Angelina Martin in the *Turlock Journal* rebutted the false picture of Turlock being circulated in the media. “In just one stroll down Main Street,” she wrote, “I was able to find five people who support Kaepernick’s protest — two of whom are actively serving in the military.”

“The [San Jose] *Mercury News* interviewed a total of four Turlock residents in a video they produced which is currently making the rounds on Facebook, depicting us as a town who doesn’t have a single soul supporting Kaepernick or his cause,” Martin wrote. “If I could find five people in one walk, imagine what an entire production team could have uncovered.”

Discussion is raging nationally on sports pages and elsewhere in response to what Kaepernick raises and about the many protests against cop killings.

A letter from San Francisco Police Officers Association President Martin Halloran demanding the 49ers apologize for Kaepernick’s “foolish” statements was widely publicized. But no apology has been issued. So far the National Football League has defended Kaepernick’s right not to stand for the anthem.

Kaepernick knew in making his protest he risked being cut from the team, with the fact that he has played erratically recently not helping matters. But with growing support for his stand and his right to protest, including from teammates, 49ers coach Chip Kelly has announced Kaepernick will be the backup quarterback going into the fall season.

Kaepernick’s no. 7 jerseys have moved to fifth overall among NFL jersey sales and jumped from 20th to first among 49ers jerseys.

25, 50, AND 75 YEARS AGO



September 20, 1991

SHERIDAN, Wyoming — United Mine Workers Local 1972 approved a contract settlement here 153-44 after a nearly four-year struggle against industry giants Peter Kiewit Co. and PacifiCorp., owners of Decker Coal Co.

The United Mine Workers have been locked in a battle against Decker since 1983 for union recognition and a contract. Local 1972, and Local 2055 at Big Horn Coal, a small mine near Sheridan owned by Kiewit which also ratified a contract, have been important union outposts near the coal rich but unorganized Powder River Basin and Thunder River Basin. There are at least 14 nonunion coal operations there, one of the largest coal-producing areas in the world.

It was not until 1986 that the company agreed to a one-year contract. When that expired, Decker refused to negotiate with the union and forced a strike.



September 19, 1966

There is a mounting drive afoot to destroy the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. The most ominous move in this direction has been the Atlanta indictment of SNCC chairman Stokely Carmichael and 14 others on frame-up charges of inciting to riot. SNCC’s Atlanta Project director, William Ware, has been indicted for inciting to riot and for creating an “insurrection.” Under a Georgia statute, the latter charge provides penalties up to death.

The arrests were made as outbreaks occurred in Atlanta’s ghetto. The first outbreak occurred after a white cop shot an innocent Negro. Further demonstrations were touched off when a blood-thirsty racist drove into the ghetto and killed one Negro youth in cold blood and wounded another.

The outbreaks were intensified by savage police repressions.



September 20, 1941

Why is there unemployment in the midst of the biggest boom? Why do the monopolies, the “leaders of industry,” run their business in such a way that unemployment results even when production is expanding?

The current wave of unemployment, which is caused by the lack of steel, aluminum and other materials, is a direct result of the attempts of the big corporations, acting through the government war agencies, to ensure themselves huge war profits, at the least risk and to maintain their monopolistic stranglehold on American industry.

The monopolies do not want to risk private investment in the expansion of their own plants or in new plants. They want to make all the war profits possible. They will not risk any of their surplus billions in new capital investments.

UN caused cholera epidemic in Haiti; Cuban doctors fought it

BY SETH GALINSKY

Six years after it was revealed that unchecked waste leakage from a United Nations “peacekeeping” camp introduced cholera to Haiti, U.N. officials have finally admitted the agency’s “own involvement in the initial outbreak.” At least 10,000 people died and more than 350,000 were sickened in the first year of the epidemic. Some 36,000 people there got cholera last year.

The U.N. had repeatedly denied any responsibility. Backed by Washington, it claimed immunity and successfully fought off lawsuits seeking compensation for cholera victims.

The record of intervention in Haiti by U.N. forces and U.S. troops stands in stark contrast to the solidarity and work of medical volunteers from revolutionary Cuba.

Cholera did not exist in Haiti prior to October 2010, when a contingent of troops from Nepal arrived to join the U.N. military forces there. Violating basic sanitation norms, the camp dumped and leaked waste into a tributary to the Artibonite River, the biggest river in Haiti. After the outbreak U.N. officials refused to allow Haitian health workers to test the Nepalese soldiers for cholera. At the time, a cholera outbreak was sweeping Nepal.

U.N. forces have been deployed in Haiti since 1993 to help Washington keep in place a stable capitalist government. After a January 2010 earthquake Washington and the U.N. sent thousands of additional troops to “ensure security” for relief missions.

Washington’s exploitation of the resources and labor of Haiti goes back to 1915 when U.S. troops invaded to force Haiti to keep repaying its “debt” to Paris for the slave rebellion from 1791 to 1803 that freed it from French colonial rule.

The U.S. government backed the brutal dictatorships of Francois Duvalier and his son Jean-Claude from 1957 until 1986, when workers and farmers overthrew it in an uprising. In 1990 Jean-Bertrand Aristide, a Catholic priest and prominent critic of the Duvaliers, was elected president. After just seven months he was overthrown by the military and forced into exile.

Concerned that continuing resistance by workers and farmers could get out of hand, President Bill Clinton sent 20,000 U.S. troops to Haiti and returned Aristide to power in October 1994. Washington forced him back into exile in 2004. The U.S. troops were replaced by the U.N. As of July this year there were 2,360 soldiers and 2,326 police under U.N. auspices.

The U.N. has served as a vehicle for Washington’s war moves from Korea in the 1950s to Somalia in the 1990s.

Cuban internationalism

The cholera epidemic would have been worse had it not been for the rapid response by the revolutionary government of Cuba, which beefed up its internationalist medical contingent in Haiti. The volunteers had been there for more than 12 years and jumped in to play a leading role in slashing cases of the disease by 90 percent.

The Cuban mission grew to more than 1,200 doctors and nurses who vol-

unteered to go to the most remote parts of the country. It established more centers to treat cholera than all other governments and non-governmental organizations there combined and had a higher success rate. Hundreds of Cuban internationalists are still in Haiti today.

“Our capital is as human beings and human values of solidarity,” said Cuban doctor Jorge Balseiro, who directed a Cuban-staffed hospital after the quake, during a tour of Canada in 2011. “It is not a question of rich or poor but of the will to do something.”

Cholera is easily preventable with a modern sewage and water system. But in Haiti, considered by the World Bank the poorest country in the world, less than 8 percent of the people have access to potable water and only 10 percent have electricity. Port-au-Prince, a city of about a million, has no sewage system.

Where did all the money go?

Washington and the U.N. boasted that they had put together \$14 billion to aid Haiti after the earthquake. But despite some \$6 billion spent so far, “no major water or sanitation projects have been completed in Haiti,” the *New York Times* reported Aug. 17, and that two pilot wastewater processing plants have closed because of lack of funds.

Tens of thousands of people are still

Colombia-FARC pact opens door for class struggle

Continued from front page

leader Fidel Castro has been a proponent of a negotiated end to the conflict for decades.

The agreement puts working people in Colombia in a better position to defend their interests without the obstacle of the war, which was often used as an excuse for government clampdowns on political and labor rights.

Some 80 percent of the 220,000 people who were killed during the war were civilians, the big majority at the hands of rightist paramilitaries, soldiers or police. More than 10 percent of Colombia’s 47 million inhabitants were displaced.

While in the last half decade the number of killings by paramilitary groups and the military has dropped dramatically, more than 110 trade unionists have been killed since 2009, according to Human Rights Watch.

As part of the accord the FARC will be allowed to form a political party after turning over its weapons to a United Nations mission. The new party will be guaranteed five seats in the Colombian House and five in the Senate in the elections of 2018 and 2022, regardless of the outcome of voting.

Amnesty will be granted to those who committed “political” crimes. Those found guilty of “war crimes” or “crimes against humanity” will be held for a time in special centers, not prisons. The government agreed it would not extradite demobilized guerrillas, blocking Washington from attempting to bring them to the U.S. for trial on alleged drug trafficking charges. The agreement will be voted on in an Oct. 2 plebiscite.

The Colombian Senate voted overwhelmingly Aug. 29 to approve holding the referendum. Former President



UN photos: Above, Logan Abassi, inset, Pasqual Gorriz
Demonstration in 2012 in Port-au-Prince demands foreign troops under U.N. flag leave Haiti. Inset, Cuban-Haitian contingent treats patients in Port-au-Prince in February 2010 after earthquake.

in camps and hundreds of thousands live in wooden and tin homes with no running water or electricity.

“Where did all the money go?” asked NBC News in January 2015. Much went into the pockets of think tanks, “non-profits” and other corporate entities for studies, advice and overhead.

When asked if any of the 25 water systems the United States Agency for International Development says it provided to Haiti after the quake are still functioning, an agency spokesman told the *Militant* it was “still looking into this.”

Haiti is a case study of how imperial-

ism pillages semicolonial countries. In 1995, soon after Washington put Aristide back in power, the Haitian government cut tariffs on U.S. rice imports from 35 percent to 3 percent. It did the same on chickens. The influx of rice, much of it from Clinton’s home state of Arkansas, helped destroy Haiti’s near self-sufficiency in food and drove thousands of peasants off the land.

In 1993 Haiti had three large broiler farms producing up to 250,000 birds a month and 262 smaller farms producing up to 6,000. All were driven out of business by the influx of cheaper chicken parts from the U.S.

Alvaro Uribe is campaigning against it.

In the 1960s, several guerrilla groups grew out of peasant struggles for land and resistance to repression and massacres by Colombia’s U.S.-backed capitalist rulers. Today just 0.4 percent of the population owns 62 percent of the best land and 83 percent of farmers lack agricultural machinery.

The FARC became the largest group. It was formed in 1964 by peasant leader Manuel Marulanda, then a member of the Communist Party of Colombia, which looked to the Stalinist regime in the Soviet Union for political guidance. The FARC split from the Communist Party in 1993.

At its height the FARC organized more than 10,000 combatants and occupied large swaths of the Colombian countryside, but in recent years had lost ground to government offensives.

Under Plan Colombia, initiated by the administration of President Bill Clinton, Washington has sent military aid totaling nearly \$10 billion to Colombia since 2000, ostensibly aimed both at eliminating coca and at the guerrillas.

‘FARC didn’t intend to take power’

Unlike Cuba, where the Rebel Army led by Fidel Castro began organizing land reform, literacy campaigns and other revolutionary measures in areas under rebel control even before it succeeded in overthrowing the Fulgencio Batista dictatorship, the FARC and other guerrilla groups left capitalist economic and social relations intact in the areas they controlled.

While guerrilla groups denied U.S. and Colombian government charges that they were involved in drug trafficking, they defended the collection of a tax

on those involved in the drug trade, like they did on other capitalist enterprises.

The guerrilla leaders never saw the armed struggle as a road to increasing the self-confidence, class-consciousness and discipline of workers and farmers to rapidly take political power. Instead, Marulanda “conceived a lengthy and prolonged struggle,” Castro explained in the book *La paz en Colombia* (Peace in Colombia), published in 2008. Castro also criticized the methods of the Colombian guerrillas of taking both civilians and soldiers hostage. (See page 7.)

The Armando Rios First Front, the 200-strong FARC unit famous for holding presidential candidate Ingrid Betancourt hostage for six years, announced July 6 it doesn’t intend to disarm. The National Liberation Army (ELN), another guerrilla group, has said it is willing to negotiate with the government.

Books for working people

“The core of a proletarian party is class battles and revolutionary struggle.”
— **Jack Barnes in “Capitalism Has Begun” in New Internationalist**

How from the mountains to the sea the Movement forged a united front.
— **Aldabonazo: Inside the Revolution**

The story of the integration of the ranks and leadership of the revolution.
— **Women in Cuba: The Revolution Within the Revolution**

Five Cuban revolutionaries who respect and solidarity.
— **“It’s the Poor Who Lead”**



www.pathfinder.org

Lessons of Cuban Revolution valuable in Colombia

Fidel Castro’s 2008 book discusses how Cuban fighters took power, course of leaders of FARC

Below are excerpts from *La paz en Colombia* (Peace in Colombia), by Cuban revolutionary leader Fidel Castro that attracted worldwide interest when it was released by Editora Política in 2008.

Castro expressed his opposition to U.S. imperialist intervention and his support for a negotiated end to the decades-long guerrilla war in Colombia in two articles published earlier that year in *Granma*, the daily newspaper of the Communist Party of Cuba. He also explained his disagreement with the political course followed by Manuel Marulanda, leader of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC), who had died earlier that year, and the Communist Party of Colombia, of which Marulanda was a member for many years.

“The Colombian Communist Party never contemplated the idea of conquering power through the armed struggle,” Castro said. “The guerrilla was a resistance front and not the basic instrument to conquer revolutionary power, as it had been in Cuba.” In 1993, he added, “Marulanda took over the leadership of that Party’s guerrillas, which was always distinguished by their hermetic sectarianism when admitting combatants as well as in their iron-handed and compartmentalized leadership methods.”

Castro also expressed his opposition to the FARC’s treatment of prisoners and their practice of taking hostages.

Castro reaffirmed that Cuba would “never support the pax romana that the [U.S.] empire tries to impose on Latin America.” He said that establishing a “real peace,” was the “one way out” in Colombia, and the option “Cuba has advocated” for decades.

Translation is by the *Militant*.



BY FIDEL CASTRO

My disagreement with Marulanda’s conception is based on living experience, not as a theoretician but as a political person who confronted and had to resolve very similar problems, both as a citizen and a guerrilla, although Marulanda’s problems were more complex and difficult. ...

We who organized the movement that sought to take power on July 26, 1953, had a clear idea of our objectives, and this remained constant. ...

The United States organized armed groups [against Cuba after the 1959 rev-



Andrew St. George Collection/Yale University Library
Waiting area at field hospital near Fidel Castro’s headquarters in Sierra Maestra, 1958. Rebel hospitals treated peasants, combatants and wounded enemy soldiers without distinction.

olution] and terrorist groups supplied by air and sea. They planted bombs, burned social and economic installations, including theaters, child care centers, factories, sugar plantations, warehouses, department stores and other targets, snuffing out lives or maiming Cubans through their traitorous actions. ...

The U.S. government pushed the world to the brink of nuclear war, because they refused to give up the idea of a direct attack on Cuba, using its powerful military. That would have cost an incalculable loss in lives and destruction, since, the Cuban people, as is well known, would have resisted to the last drop of blood. ...

Our idea of the guerrilla force as the developing embryo of a force capable of

taking power is not based only on the Cuban experience but also on that of other Latin American countries. In all of them the struggles would be waged by the poor, independently of their level of education, which everywhere, as the exploited classes — worker or peasant, simple day laborers or even soldiers — was very low. ...

The United States is not a friend of the peoples of Latin America. For more than a century and a half it intervened in Latin America’s internal affairs, stole its territory, robbed its natural resources, attacked its culture, imposed unequal trade, sabotaged unity efforts going back to the era of independence, promoted conflicts between our countries, exploited the great differences in

the heart of our societies. ...

During the last 50 years, military coups and bloody tyrannies, supported and encouraged by the United States, have meant hundreds of thousands of “disappeared,” tortured, and murdered in Central and South America. The coup plotters and torturers were trained in U.S. military schools. ...

The problem of drugs, which today causes so much pain to the peoples of Latin America, in reality originates with the enormous demand in the United States, where the authorities have never decided to combat it energetically while assigning this task solely to the countries where poverty and underdevelopment push masses of peasants into cultivating the coca leaf or poppies instead of coffee, cacao, or other products undervalued in the U.S. market. ...

I disagreed with the head of the FARC over the pace he assigned to the revolutionary process in Colombia, over his idea of excessively prolonged war. ...

The FARC, because of its operational conceptions, never surrounded or forced the surrender of a full battalion backed by artillery, armored units and air power. This is an experience we did have, thus defeating even larger units of elite troops. This is not what happened with the FARC, despite the tremendous quality of its fighters.

My opposition to holding prisoners of war, to applying policies that humiliate them or subject them to extremely harsh jungle conditions, is well known. With these policies troops will never lay down their arms, even if the battle is lost. Nor was I in agreement with capturing and holding civilians who have nothing to do with the war.

Rebel Army’s moral values key to overthrow of Batista

Below are excerpts from an Aug. 19, 1958, broadcast on Radio Rebelde, the station of the July 26th Movement’s Rebel Army, which was fighting against the U.S.-backed dictatorship of Fulgencio Batista in Cuba. The broadcast focused on the Rebel Army’s humane treatment of enemy soldiers, a key part of rapidly overthrowing the dictatorship and charting a revolutionary course for working people there. This was the opposite of the “prolonged war” strategy of guerrilla groups in Colombia. The entire broadcast is printed in *La Contraofensiva Estratégica* (The Strategic Counteroffensive) by Fidel Castro, available in Spanish at www.pathfinderpress.com

It could seem illogical in the middle of the war to free enemy prisoners. That depends on what kind of war and the concept that one has of the war. ...

War is not simply a question of rifles, bullets, cannons and airplanes. Maybe that belief is one of the reasons of the failure of the tyranny’s forces. ...

A prisoner’s life has never been taken; no wounded soldier has ever been left without medical attention; but we can say more; no prisoner was ever beaten; and something more can be added: no prisoner was ever insult-

ed or offended. ...

And this would not be more than an elementary duty of reciprocity if the forces of the tyranny had respected the life of the adversaries who fell under its power. Torture and death were the sure fate that fell to any rebel, sympathizer of our cause or simple suspect who fell into enemy hands. ... Killing has made them weaker; not killing has made us stronger.

Why don’t we kill the soldiers we capture?

First, because only cowards and thugs murder an enemy who has surrendered.

Second, because the Rebel Army cannot fall into the same practices of the tyranny it is fighting.

Third, ... through lies and deceit the dictatorship has tried everything to get the soldier to ... [believe that] we will murder them all without exception so that every member of the Armed Forces thinks it is necessary to fight for it until the last drop of blood.

Fourth, because acts of cruelty are stupid in any war, all the more so in civil war where those fighting will someday have to live together and the perpetrators will face the children, wives and mothers of the victims.

Fifth, ... to the dictatorship’s torturers and assassins we need to counterpose

for the generations to come the example that our combatants are offering.

Sixth, because it is necessary to plant the seed of fraternity now that must prevail in the future homeland we are building for all and the good of all. ...

Victory in war depends on a minimum of weapons and a maximum of moral values. ...

Freeing a prisoner is the strongest refutation of the false propaganda of the tyranny. ...

I am completely convinced that if one day instead of fighting we could bring together all the revolutionaries and all the soldiers to meet and converse, the tyranny would disappear in an instant.

ng-class fighters

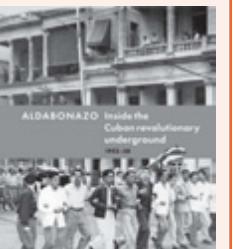
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Malcolm X in 1965: Revolutionary struggle is worldwide

February 1965: The Final Speeches — *one of Pathfinder's Books of the Month for September* — is a collection of talks and interviews by Malcolm X during the last three weeks of his life. This excerpt is from his speech at a Feb. 15, 1965, rally of the Organization of Afro-American Unity, attended by 700 people at the Audubon Ballroom in New York. Six days later Malcolm, one of the 20th century's outstanding revolutionary internationalist leaders of the working class, was assassinated as he began speaking at an OAAU meeting. Copyright © 1992 by Pathfinder Press. Reprinted by permission.

BOOKS OF THE MONTH

BY MALCOLM X

You and I are living at a time when there's a revolution going on. A worldwide revolution. It goes beyond Mississippi. It goes beyond Alabama. It goes beyond Harlem. There's a worldwide revolution going on. And it's in two phases.

Number one, what is it revolting against? The power structure. The American power structure? No. The French power structure? No. The English power structure? No. Then what power structure? An international Western power structure. An international power structure consisting of American inter-



"You and I are living at a time when there's a revolution going on," Malcolm X said at rally of Organization of Afro-American Unity at Audubon Ballroom in Harlem Feb. 15, 1965.

ests, French interests, English interests, Belgian interests, European interests. These countries that formerly colonized the dark man formed into a giant international combine. A structure, a house that has ruled the world up until now. And in recent times there has been a revolution taking place in Asia and in Africa, whacking away at the strength or at the foundation of the power structure.

Now, the man was shook up enough when Africa was in revolt and when Asia was in revolt. All of this revolt was actually taking place on the outside of his house, on the outside of his base, or on the outside of his headquarters. But now he's faced with something new. Just as the French and the British and the Americans formed one huge home or house or power structure, those brothers in Africa and Asia, although they are fighting against it, they also have some brothers on the inside of the house.

And as fast as the brothers in Africa and Asia get their independence, get freedom, get strength, begin to rise up, begin to change their image from negative to positive — this African image that has jumped from negative to positive affects the image that the Black man in the Western Hemisphere has of himself. Whereas in the West Indies and in Latin American countries and in the United States, you or I used to be ashamed of ourselves, used to look

down upon ourselves, used to have no tendency whatsoever or desire whatsoever to stick together. As the African nations become independent and mold a new image — a positive image, a militant image, an upright image, the image of a man, not a boy — how has this affected the Black man in the Western Hemisphere? It has taken the Black man in the Caribbean and given him some pride. It has given pride to the Black man in Latin America and has given pride to the Black man right here in the United States. So that when the Black revolution begins to roll on the African continent, it affects the Black man in the United States and affects the relationship between the Black man and the white man in the United States.

When the Black man in the Caribbean sees the brother on the continent of Africa waking up and rising up, the Black man in the Caribbean begins to throw back his shoulders and stick out his chest and stand up. [Applause] Now, when that Black man goes to England he's right inside the English power structure, ready to give it trouble. When the Black man from the French West Indies goes to France, why the effect upon him of the African revolution is the same as the effect upon us here in the States by the African revolution. This is what you have to understand.

Now, up to now there have been Black people in France, divided. Black people in England, divided. Black people

here in America, divided. What divided us? Our lack of pride. Our lack of racial identity. Our lack of racial pride. Our lack of cultural roots. We had nothing in common. But as the African nation got its independence and changed its image, we became proud of it. And to the same degree that we became proud of it, we began to have something in common to that same degree. So, whereas formerly it was difficult to unite Black people, today it is easier to unite Black people. Where formerly Black people didn't want to come together with Black people, but only with white people, today you find Black people want to come together with Black people. All they need is someone to start the ball rolling. [Applause]

So this is what you have to understand. And as the brothers on the African continent lead the way, it has an effect and an impact upon the brothers here, upon the brothers here in the Western Hemisphere. So that when you find the Afro-American community in France uniting not only with itself, but for the first time beginning to unite and work in conjunction with the African community, this frightens old [Charles] de Gaulle to death, because he sees some new problems in front of him.

And when the West Indian community, which is an Afro-American community in England, begins to unite and then unite also with the African community in England and reach out and get the Asian community, it's trouble for old John Bull. Trouble that he never foresaw before. And this is something that he has to face up to.

Likewise, here in America, with you and me. For the first time in our history here you find we have a tendency to want to come together. For the first time we have a tendency to want to work together. And, up to now, no organization on the American continent has tried to unite you and me with our brothers and sisters back home. ...

So this has been the purpose of the OAAU and also the Muslim Mosque: to give us direct links, direct contact, direct communication and cooperation with our brothers and sisters all over the earth. And once we are successful in uniting ourselves with our people all over the world, it puts us in a position where we no longer are a minority who can be abused and walked upon. We become a part of the majority.

September

BOOKS OF THE MONTH

PATHFINDER READERS CLUB SPECIALS

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Solidarity with Kaepernick’s protest!

The following statement was issued Sept. 7 by Alyson Kennedy, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. president.

We support San Francisco 49ers quarterback Colin Kaepernick and other athletes backing the fight against police brutality and racist discrimination by refusing to stand when the national anthem is played at sports events. They deserve the solidarity of working people.

Kaepernick’s action reflects the impact of recent protests against police killings in cities and towns across the country, and reinforces those struggles — from Baton Rouge, Louisiana, to Chicago and New York; from Fresno, California, to Council, Idaho.

“There are injustices being made,” said Kaepernick’s teammate Eric Reid after he knelt with him during the anthem Sept. 1. “I just wanted to show him I support him and I know there are other people in this country that feel the same way.”

They carry on the legacy of Muhammad Ali, the world heavyweight boxing champion prosecuted for refusing to be drafted to fight in Vietnam in 1967. “My conscience won’t let me go shoot my brother,” he said at the time, “or some darker people, or some poor hungry people in the mud for big powerful America. And shoot them for what? They never called me ‘nigger.’”

They recall the Black power fist salutes of Olympic medalist runners Tommie Smith and John Carlos during the playing of the American anthem at the 1968 Olympics. “He’s involved in a movement,” Carlos said of Kaepernick last week. “He’s jumped into the pool of human history.”

The capitalist rulers try to use widespread respect for athletes — whether in the Olympics, professional football or other sports — to promote the notion that all Americans have common interests and to whip up patriotic support for their imperialist wars.

Kaepernick’s courageous stance is counterposed to the close relationship between National Football League owners and Washington’s military brass. The Defense Department laid out at least \$6.8 million in recent years to bang the drum for Washington’s war machine at NFL games — from having members of the military sing the national anthem to unfurling giant American flags on the field at sporting events. The Tampa Bay Buccaneers regularly send team members to MacDill Air Force Base to meet leaders of the U.S. Central Command, which directs Washington’s Mideast wars from its headquarters there.

Critics of Kaepernick call his actions “divisive.” In fact they help inspire and unify working people, making them more confident to fight against the capitalist rulers attacks on the working class here and around the world.

IRS attack aimed at solidarity with Cuba

Continued from front page

support in this latest stage in the group’s yearslong fight against harassment by the IRS.

IFCO, which was founded in 1967, is best known for its yearly “Friendshipment Caravans” that have brought humanitarian aid to the people of Cuba since 1992. This has included over 4,000 tons of goods such as school supplies and medicines, as well as 300 school buses, noted *Granma*, the newspaper of the Communist Party of Cuba. The group also administers the scholarship program that allows U.S. students to study at Cuba’s Latin American School of Medicine, and other solidarity projects.

The IRS probe, which began five years ago, initially targeted IFCO’s support to a project called Viva Palestina, which delivered food and medical supplies to people in the Gaza Strip. In response to accusations by Democrat Rep. Brad Sherman and Republican Rep. Sue Myrick that the group had ties to terrorism, the IRS audited IFCO’s books from 2009 and 2010. This charge was subsequently dropped, since the official Charity Commission in the United Kingdom recognizes Viva Palestina as a legitimate charity.

The IRS then accused IFCO of violating the U.S. “Trading with the Enemy Act” for its caravans to Cuba. “We said that the Treasury Department’s Office of Foreign Assets Control had never come after

us on this issue” over more than two decades, Walker told the *Militant*, “so this was also dropped.”

In denying IFCO’s appeal, “the IRS said it was not Cuba work or support to Viva Palestina but because of bad recordkeeping” that the tax exemption is being revoked, said Walker. “They’re trying to make it an administrative issue,” she said, but it’s a clear “attempt to stop our progressive work.”

“This pressure being exerted on IFCO/Pastors for Peace is an intentional attempt to undermine solidarity and fraternity between our two peoples,” said a Sept. 1 statement from the Cuban Council of Churches and its associate members, including the Hebrew Community of Cuba.

In an Aug. 29 interview appearing on the Cubadebate website, Walker was asked, “Why is the Obama administration doing this now?” Despite the opening of diplomatic relations between the U.S. and Cuba and negotiations on normalizing relations, “in the U.S. there is still a campaign to undermine Cuba and its revolutionary principles,” she replied. “That’s why we continue to stand in solidarity with Cuba and why we continue to call on the U.S. government to end its efforts to achieve ‘regime change’ in Cuba.”

Walker urged everyone backing IFCO’s fight to sign the online petition to the IRS and members of Congress at <http://bit.ly/saveifco> and leave comments along with it.

Stakes in trade pact

Continued from front page

what is best for “America” and saving “American” jobs. But there are two Americas: one of the wealthy capitalist class and the other of workers and working farmers. And a division between the imperialist world and the semicolonial world. Our interests lie with our fellow workers around the world, not with the bosses who get rich by exploiting our labor power.

That’s why class-conscious workers don’t support any of these pacts, or the nationalist campaigns against them. Under free trade or protectionism, as Karl Marx put it more than a century ago, workers go to the wall.

Clinton, Trump, and Bernie Sanders too, all say they oppose the TPP advanced by the administration of President Barack Obama — a 5,500-page agreement that includes 11 other governments: Australia, Brunei Darussalam, Canada, Chile, Japan, Malaysia, Mexico, New Zealand, Peru, Singapore and Vietnam.

Obama, acting for a big section of the U.S. ruling class, has made approval of the TPP a central part of his “pivot” to Asia. He wants to put together a coalition to slow China’s rising economic and military power and pave the way for deals with Beijing. At the behest of U.S. steel bosses, backed by United Steelworkers union officials, the Commerce Department announced it was imposing a 266 percent tariff on steel imports from China.

The anti-China Trans-Pacific pact would eliminate or reduce tariffs and quotas on some 18,000 products for its 12 member states, especially benefiting the more powerful U.S. capitalists. For example, the Vietnamese government has agreed to eliminate or slash a host of tariffs on U.S. products, including a 34 percent tariff on beef and 30 percent on fresh fruit.

Start with working class, not ‘we Americans’

“The American worker is being crushed,” Trump wrote in a March 14 *USA Today* column, and it will be worse “if the Trans-Pacific Partnership is not stopped.” If elected, he added, “We will finally stand up for American workers and make America great again,” including threatening China with higher tariffs.

Clinton initially supported the proposed pact, saying in 2012 it “sets the gold standard in trade agreements” and would institute “the rule of law and a level playing field.” Under pressure of some capitalist backers and nationalist-minded union officials, she now claims it doesn’t meet her standards for “good jobs for Americans, for raising wages for Americans.”

Sanders said he opposed the pact because it would “force American workers to compete against desperately poor people all over the world. American workers should not have to compete against people making pennies an hour.”

Under capitalism workers always compete with each other for jobs. The only course that can counteract competition among workers, trade pacts or not, is: Organize the unorganized, fight for working-class solidarity across borders and for higher wages and better working conditions at home, and build a growing proletarian movement to take political power out of the hands of the profit-driven rulers.

Communists “start with the interests of the working class, which is an international class,” Jack Barnes, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, said in “Our Politics Start with the World,” a speech reprinted in *New International* no. 13. “Under the banner of free trade, the U.S. government uses so-called antidumping clauses, ‘environmental’ and ‘labor standards’ restrictions, ‘human rights’ demagoguery, and other measures to carry out brutal and aggressive trade wars not only against its imperialist rivals but with special ferocity against the semicolonial countries.”

Workers should oppose all tariffs and other barriers on goods coming into the United States and other imperialist nations. The workings of the world capitalist market guarantee the plunder of the semicolonial world, Barnes notes, not primarily due to “unfair” terms of trade, but as a result of “the differential value of labor power and the gap in productivity of labor between the imperialist countries” and those oppressed and exploited by imperialism.

Working people need to chart a course independent of the bosses and their parties, reach out in solidarity to workers around the world and refuse to be sucked into the nationalist anti-free trade campaigns that would pit us against each other.

LETTERS

Vote for Kennedy, Hart

I am advising every race I possibly can to influence their peoples, friends and family to vote for Alyson Kennedy. She’ll always have my intellectual support, no matter the activity, concerning working-class socialism. I hope Alyson and her vice president campaign mate (Mr. Osborne Hart) succeed because they serve the positions of truthfulness for society’s benefit more than anyone I’ve ever known.

A prisoner
Florida

Paper brings enlightenment

I’m appreciative for the work you do at the *Militant*. It brings

enlightenment of the political realm to not only me, but about 20 other guys I share it with here. However, one week I’ll get one and the next I’ll get two or three. Second, what’s up with the dates? One will be dated for that day, and others ahead of time.

Again, thank you for your hard

work to bring us word (political-wise) to this side of the fence.

A prisoner
Florida

Editor’s note: The *Militant* is dated 12 days after the closing news date, common practice for a weekly paper. Mail delivery, of course, both by the post office and prison mailroom, is not within our control.

The letters column is an open forum on subjects of interest to working people. Where necessary letters will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used instead of your full name.

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